1:Dobrizhoffer M-S (ca. 1760) 1822
514 Abipon 514
GUARANI 514

own eyes were he to see men, almost a hundred years old, leap on to a fiery horse, without the aid of a stirrup, like a boy of twelve years old, sit it for hours, and even whole days, beneath a burning sun, climb trees for honey, travel or lie upon the ground in cold or rainy weather, contend with the enemy in battle, shrink from no toils of the army or the chase, evince wonderful acuteness both of sight and hearing, preserve all their teeth quite sound, and seem only to be distinguished by the number of their years from men in the prime of life. All these things will hardly be credited in Europe where they are so rare. In the colonies of the Abipones I daily beheld old men, like youths in every other respect but that of age, without surprize. If a man dies at eighty he is lamented as if cut off in the flower of his age. Women generally live longer than men, because they are not killed in war, and because the moistness of their nature renders them more long lived. You find so many old women a hundred years of age, amongst the Abipones, that you may wonder at, but will scarce be able to count them. I cannot say that the pedestrian nations of Paraguay enjoy equal strength and longevity. The Guaranies, Lules, Isistines, Vilelas, and other pedestrian Indians, are subject to diseases like the Europeans, and

1:Dobrizhoffer M-5 (ca. 1780) 1822
314 Abipon
GUARANI 5114

165 both feel old age, and discover it by their habit
[164] of body. Their lives, like those of Europeans, are sometimes short, sometimes long. You find very few men a hundred years old, or even approaching to that age amongst them. It is worth while to investigate the causes of this exceeding vigour of the Abipones,

1:Dobrizhoffer M-S (ca. 1760) 1822
SI4 Abipon SI4
GUARANI SM4

A 164 disease during the two last centuries, defy all G calculation. In the thirty Guarany towns some [165] thirty thousand persons died of the small-pox in the year 1734.

ooo It is not true that the Spaniards and other Europeans in America are exempted from small-pox; but it cannot be doubted that the Indians take it sooner, and more frequently die of it. I am of opinion that their habit of body has less strength to repel or overcome that poison. They generally eat half-raw and unsalted meat; they always go with their heads and feet bare; they drink nothing but water, and that not of the best kind, except at a few festive drinking parties in the course of the year; all which tend to weaken the stomach. The heat of the sun, and the constant use of maize, cause a ferment in their blood which, on the accession of small-pox, very frequently proves fatal. This must be understood of the pedestrian Indians only, for the Abipones, and other equestrian Indians, who do not labour under those A 164 miseries to which the pedestrians are subject, generally have the small-pox in a milder form.

G In the year 1765 this plague carried off great A numbers in the Spanish colonies. Having swept 731 away about twelve thousand persons in the thirty 165 Guarany towns, it spread to the distant hordes 164 of the savages scattered throughout Chaco, and

1:Dobrizhoffer M-5 (ca. 1760) 1822
S14 Abipon S14
GUARANI SM4

though almost all took the infection, yet few died in proportion to the number of the sick. I speak of the equestrians, who were saved by the strength of their constitutions. In the town which I founded for the Abipones, one woman only escaped the contagion, yet out of the many hundreds that took the disease, twenty alone fell victims to it.

Often no mention is made of the small-pox for many years amongst the Indians; but this calm is the sure forerunner of an approaching storm. We have always found the small pox break out first in the colonies of the Spaniards, and spread from thence to the farthest hordes of the Indians; who, having learnt from the experience of their ancestors, to dread this disease as their death, separate from their hordesmen as soon as ever they have the least suspicion of its approach, and fly, some one way, some another, in precipitate haste. Upon this occasion they travel not in a straight line, but by various meanders and windings. That this method is superstitiously observed by the Lules, Isistines, Vilelas, Homoampas, and Chunipies, I was told by Fathers who had resided long amongst them. Through fear of the contagion, fathers desert their sick sons, and sons their fathers. They leave a pitcher of water, and some roasted maize at the sick

1:Dobrizhoffer M-5 (ca. 1760) 1822
SM4 Abipon SM4
GUARANI SM4

sons of a cheerful disposition, fair complexion, and less advanced period of life, underwent little trouble and danger from this disease. The burning of the throat, occasioned by the small-pox breaking out there, together with the cough and sort of quinsy it produces, are highly dangerous, and frequently fatal to the Indians. Water, mixed with sugar and citron-juice, is very refreshing to persons afflicted in this manner; a decoction of plantane leaves is also of use to rinse the throat, and sometimes for the purpose of washing the eyes. The old physicians advised persons in the small-pox to stay within doors, and keep themselves well covered, lest the spots which are ready to come out should be repressed to the inward parts. The Abipones, on the contrary, after taking the small-pox, passed days and nights in the open air, or in huts half closed, and admitting the air on every side. Whilst flying to the recesses of the woods they received the cold air into their whole bodies: might not this be the reason why, out of so great a number of sick persons, so very few died of the small-pox? For I have since learnt that modern physicians think the open air wholesomer for persons in the small-pox than the heat of a room; therefore I now no longer wonder at this disease proving fatal to so many

2: Schaden--19 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1962 Sh44 Guarani Sh44

/16 cont./

361 Dourados (Pôsto Indígena Francisco Horta), about one league from the city of the same name, in southern Mato Grosso. On 621 the occasion of my first visit 548 Indians were registered at the [162] post, with some mestiços among them. They were Guaraní -- of the Kayová (355 individuals, 173 of the male sex and 182 of the female sex) and Ñandéva subgroups (42 individuals, 22 of the male sex and 20 of the female sex) -- and Terêno (151 individuals, 77 of the male sex and 74 of the female sex). Since [164] that time the population has decreased considerably, particularly as a consequence of pulmonary tuberculosis and other ailments. [177] The Ñandéva have practically abandoned the tribal religion, no [178] longer performing ceremonies of any type; among the Kayová, too, [197] the influence of Christianity /17/ continues to increase through the catechism developed by the Protestant mission founded in the immediate neighborhood of the post especially in order to lend assistance to the Indians and to convert them to Christianity. -- [114] I worked at the post in the years of 1949, 1950, and 1951.

[361] Panambi, a few leagues from the Pôsto Indígena Francisco [162] Horta (exclusively of Kayová Indians, about 250 persons in 1949). Some years ago the village maintained the old cultural patterns [178] of the tribe on a large scale, but nowadays it is on the way to dissolution as a result of the ever more rapid advance of the Colônia Federal de Dourados, whose board of directors has almost totally parceled up the lands of the Indians in order to distribute [114] them to the colonists who have come from outside. I worked at Panambi in 1949 and 1951.

[36] Teicuê (Pôsto Indígena José Bonifácio), southern Mato Grosso, [114] Município de Ponta Porã. I could not work at this post, where I [162] made only a few observations during a quick visit in 1949, at [166] which time the population numbered between 200 and 300 Kayová and a few Ñandéva. The latter had come from Dourados and the [433] former, in large part, from Benjamim Constant or Amambai. -- The post is organized for the production of yerba maté.

2: Schaden--28 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/26 cont./

142 Not rarely the arrangement of the teeth is irregular. With relative frequency one notes the absence of the upper incisors, particularly in the villages in which it is customary to suck a great deal of sugar cane. The development of caries is attributed [164] [146] to the use of salt in the diet, at least among the Ñandéva; there are those who also give as the cause the consumption of half-raw or merely smoked meat. The fact is, however, that one meets many adults with very well preserved teeth, without a flaw or the slightest indication of caries. Among the Kayová, in the individuals lacking the upper incisors, the crown of the lower ones has a length one and a half times that of the other teeth. Some Mbüá of the village of Palmeirinha showed a slight alveolar prognathism, accompanied by /27/ histodontia. With respect to the latter [732] peculiarity, the Indians questioned said that it was not a matter of mutilation, but a congenital formation.

The occurrence of the plica palpebralis is not generalized [143] in any of the three subgroups. It is a strange fact, because my observations among mestizo children lead me to acknowledge the genetic dominance of this characteristic among the Guaraní. In numerous cases the fold is not enough to cover the caruncula.

304 There are few physical mutilations in use among the Guaraní. The most important one is the piercing of the lower lip, to which [177] boys are subjected before puberty. As acculturation progresses, [192] the use of the tembetá or lip plug is abandoned, as well as the piercing of the lip. The Ñandéva must have abandoned it long ago; I have not seen any individual with a pierced lip among [173] them. But in the mythology of this group, Tupã, the god of thunder, crosses the sky with a glittering tembetá, represented by lightning, which seems to indicate that in ancient times the Ñandéva, too, were familiar with this ornament. For their part, some of the present-day Mbüá do not have the pierced lip, and those who display it do not customarily use the tembetá; I have seen Mbüá boys with a pierced lip only in a group from Jariri (Paulista coast) who had come from Rio Grande do Sul in 1948 under the chieftaincy of the ñanderú Miguel. Those that most [184] cling to the custom are the Kayová, although even among them,

/2[illegible]/

304 184 tor [illegible]one meets adults who have not suffered the mutilation. In southern Mato Grosso the pierced lip is considered the principal mark of distinction of the Kayová (also called there Tembekuá, "pierced lip") in contrast to the Ñandéva; the Kayová ridicule the latter as having "the face of a woman."

304 [177] [189] Among the Ñandéva of the Paulista coast, the group most influenced by the caboclo culture, the women pierce the ear lobes for the use of earrings. An Indian of this group also spoke to me about tattooing, for magical purposes, on both arms; nevertheless I did not observe any individual with marks of this nature.

302 [192] Few women wear the hair short; most of them let it fall loosely to their shoulders. The Mbüá woman, upon cutting the hair, divides it transversally over the crown, gathering it into two knots (odjíadjókuá), one over the forehead, the other at the nape of the neck; when the hair grows out again, the transversal division disappears, and only one knot is made in the region of the occiput. The Ñandéva women of the São Paulo coast like to make one or two long braids, which also may be observed as an exception among the Mbüá of this region. One young Ñandéva woman of the village of Itariri even used permanent waving, besides painting herself with rouge and lipstick. The men of the various groups have already adopted the haircut common among the caboclos, except for some /28/ of the more conservative Kayová, who keep the traditional hair-style: the hair falls down to the eyebrows in front and is also cut horizontally in the occipital region. Over the hair thus combed with a comb of splinters of bamboo, the paí, or religious leaders, wear the djeguaká, diadem of feathers, which is exclusively an ornament of the male sex in the religious ceremonies. The traditional way of cutting the hair in the shape of a crown is also to be observed among some Kayová women; the others, "more modern," let it grow longer.

[30] [192] [554] [178]

142 182 Cultural influences on the physical appearance are manifested in the development of the arm and leg musculature. The women have stout arms because of the daily use of the pestle. Men and women have very prominent calves because of the long walks

[147] [482] [164]

/28 cont./

142 and owing to the fact that the women have to carry on their
182 backs all the products of the plantings, while the men who work
[142] in the yerbales /stands of yerba maté/ of Mato Grosso must carry
[482] burdens of hundreds of kilos (the cause, incidentally, of frequent
• [64] hernias or "ruptures"). The development of the musculature of
[535] the legs is also due in part to the almost daily dances in which all the members of the tribe participate.

163 The birth rate is quite high in all the Guaraní groups. In general a woman has ten to twelve children in the course of her life, but little more than half of them reach adulthood. There [165] are villages in which child mortality is as high as sixty per cent. Yet I also know an old Ñandéva woman who had ten children, eight or nine of whom reached adulthood; this, however, is an exceptional case.

842 The Guaraní woman wants to have many children. For the
[824] purpose of facilitating conception, the Kayová women drink the tea of a plant called membý djá ú djá; they say that it is sometimes enough for a woman to pass near this plant to become pregnant. There is another plant that is used to promote the conception of male children. At least the Kayová and the Ñandéva prefer male offspring.

847 Among the Kayová and Mbüá there is said to be infanticide
845 of twins, and the strangulation of crippled children is also said to occur. But, with respect to the Ñandéva, I have noticed, for instance, a couple with twin daughters, both alive and one of them crippled; at Araribá I knew a Ñandéva family with twin children of the male sex. The different attitude toward twins is based, perhaps, on the great diversity of mythical representa-
732 tions in this respect. In the Kayová villages and among the
[828] Ñandéva of Jacareí I found dull and senseless individuals, who, incidentally, were treated with special affection. The father
[842] (Kayová) presented one of them to me as Tupí rymbá, /29/ "created by God," that is, conceived without there having been any sexual relations between the couple, and sent as a substitute for an earlier child that had died.

/29 cont./

854 855 165 [164] [536] In part the not very rational methods of raising the children are responsible for the high index of child mortality. On the occasion of journeys or celebrations, the children sleep in the open, exposed to the mist, becoming victims of grippe or pneumonia. During the dances, which extend from nightfall to the break of day, many mothers keep the infants riding on their hips, paying no attention to the violent shaking to which they expose them all night; only robust children withstand such practices. Thus cultural patterns are combined with the factors of natural selection.

515 [828] The patterns of hygiene in force among the Guaraní are very rudimentary, which naturally promotes the spread of contagious diseases of all sorts. Ordinarily one does not see the slightest preoccupation with body cleanliness. A Mbüá from Xapecó told me that "the Guaraní go about dirty, because they were really born to be poor." If there is a river close to the village, the young lads may once in a while take a bath, but solely for the purpose of cooling the body on a hot day or of having fun in the water. The Ñandéva of the coast say that, in the opinion of the "ancients," a morning bath would give "long life," a belief that, by the way, also exists in other native populations; they remember an old man who demanded that children take a bath in the river every morning, "in order to become strong," but they confess that the Guaraní of today "prefer to remain near the fire." -- The smell of sweat and smoke that characterizes them has been erroneously taken for a "racial odor."

[147] 164 [146] [733] [751] Health conditions are not good. In the coastal villages, for example, many suffer from malaria, venereal diseases, frequent grippes, etc. The irregular diet and alcoholism reduce physical resistance. The Kayová of Mato Grosso have been decimated by tuberculosis, which readily spreads among them, not only because of the lack of cleanliness, but because of the custom of having many people eat at one time from the same dishes or cups, of preparing chicha (a beverage fermented with the aid of saliva) in large collective tubs, of not dispensing the chimarrão /a beverage made with maté/ and, above all, the tereré (a beverage of maté with cold water, taken by means of a suction tube), and, finally, by the nocturnal dances in the open air.

/29 cont./
by the nocturnal dances in the open air. Furthermore, there is no possibility, under present circumstances, to subject them to any systematic medication; tuberculosis, which they call "pest" or "dry cough," is considered the result of sorcery, therefore to be cured only by measures of countersorcery.

/30/ Mental illness is rare, even though it is not difficult to find individuals with a "sick" emotional state and others who have frequent hallucinations. A crazy Kayová lived for several years at the P.I. Francisco Horta.

The resistance to crossbreeding weakens as contacts and economic interaction between the Indians and the caboclo populations intensify. One also notices a close relationship between the changes in the religious life and the number of interethnic marriages.

The number of conjugal unions between Guaraní and caboclos is far greater than that between these Indians and elements of other tribes. For about twenty years some families of the Terêno tribe, natives of Mato Grosso, have lived with the Guaraní of Araribá; to date no marriage between persons of the two groups has been verified; I know at this post, however, a couple made up of a Kaingáng /Caingang/ man and a Guaraní woman, whose life, by the way, is distinguished by constant domestic battles. Years ago a German, Grütken, also resided in this village, married to a Guaraní woman; some children of the couple now life near Bauru.

Mixed unions between Guaraní and caboclos are not rare, particularly in the villages in which the two have lived together for several decades. According to the rule of hypergamy, these unions take place between Indian women and caboclo men; the exceptions are extremely few; I have information about two cases in which Guaraní men constituted families with caiçara /coastal caboclo/ women from the coast south of São Paulo. Among the Ñandéva the resistance to marriages with foreign elements is rapidly decreasing; and to these unions is linked more and more the idea of social ascent. In Araribá the Indian women married to "civilized men," i.e., caboclos consider themselves the elite of the group. The phenomenon obviously reflects the high degree of detribalization in which these Indians are found.